The Impact of Antisemitism and Islamophobia on Jewish-Muslim Relations in the UK: Memory, Experience, Context.

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The relationship between the Jewish and Muslim communities of Europe is often constructed by public discourse as polarized due to the Israel-Palestine conflict. Indeed, in the summer of 2014, the mass media presented numerous reports suggesting that the relations between Europe's Jews and Muslims were deteriorating following the military action between Israel and Gaza. At the same time, it has been argued by social scientists and humanities scholars that the discussion of Jewish-Muslim relations needs to be situated in the wider context of the position of 'minority' communities in Europe. In this paper we will adopt the same approach in focusing on the case of the UK and will use ethnographic analysis to highlight the context-dependent nature of Jewish-Muslim relations.

The topic of Jewish-Muslim relations in the modern world has produced substantial literature stemming from a wide range of disciplines.[1] A number of studies demonstrated the importance of taking into consideration the broader socio-historical context of European colonialism, as well as local experiences of the two communities when considering Jewish-Muslim relations in Europe.[2] In this paper we will suggest that Jewish-Muslim relations in the UK offer fertile ground for applying the same socio-historical approach and will focus on one particular aspect of this relationship revealed in our ethnographic work with both groups – the importance of the local context for the formation of mutual attitudes towards and perceptions of the two communities.

A number of sociological studies and surveys examined the opinions of British Muslims about Jews and Judaism to suggest that negative attitudes towards the Jews are more common among British Muslims than among the general population,[3] but none of the studies published so far have provided a detailed ethnographic analysis of the mutual perceptions of the two communities in the UK or explored the attitudes of British Jews towards Muslims. In 2013-2015 we conducted a study, which involved in-depth interviews with forty British Jews and British Muslims and participant observation of the meetings of two initiatives in Jewish-Muslim dialogue.

The overall study revealed that community members demonstrate a wide range of views regarding each other and that their relationship provides an important example of sizeable groups of Jews and Muslims often living side by side and successfully negotiating different types of mutual perceptions and understandings. What we would like to focus on in this chapter is one particular aspect of these relations - the way they are shaped by and, at the same time, reflect wider public British attitudes towards 'minority communities' in general and towards Jews and Muslims in particular. This chapter will contribute to the main theoretical themes explored in this volume by suggesting that the attitudes that the two communities exhibit towards each other intersect with wider public discourses about Jews and Muslims, and 'minority' groups in the UK and that their perceptions of the 'other' community often reflect their own sense of in/security and experiences of discrimination in British society. In the following two sections we will present data from our interviews and participant observation, focusing first on the Jewish and then on the Muslim respondents. In the final section, we will return to the wider problematics of the context-dependent nature of Jewish-Muslim relations.

History, memory, experience

'So, you are studying the relationship between Jews and Muslims? Very interesting! Though, I must say, I could never understand Muslims very well. Why would anyone want to become a suicide-bomber? It is very hard for a British person to understand it!'

This is how Miriam,[4] one of Yulia's Jewish interviewees responded to her description of our project's objectives. In a little while Miriam added, 'I should not be prejudiced though. I have met so many lovely Muslim people who have been so helpful. But you hear so much in the news about all these terrorists. And then, of course, if you look at what they say about Israel…'

Miriam's comments do not by any means reflect the whole complexity of the way British Jews relate to their Muslim neighbours, however, they do highlight the concern and hesitation about Jewish-Muslim relations that is present among some members of British Jewish communities. In this section we will suggest that what appears to account for this hesitation is both the general negative stereotyping of

Muslims that originates in the mainstream mass media and public discourse, **and** anti-Semitic discrimination that Jewish communities have experienced in the UK.

The question of Jewish-Muslims relations looms large in the debate about what became to be known as the 'new anti-Semitism'. The emergence of this debate in Jewish communities followed the intensification of anti-Semitic violence that resurfaced in the past two and a half decades and appeared to correlate with events in the Middle East.[5] As Matti Bunzl has discussed at length in his seminal essay on the topic, some commentators in the Jewish constituencies have called attention to those cases of anti-Semitic violence where the perpetrators are Muslims.[6]

The responses that we received from our Jewish interviewees about their experiences of interactions with British Muslims were positive, however, almost every respondent talked about the concern present in their congregations. This is how Michael, a Jewish man in his sixties, attempted to explain to us this concern: 'Unfortunately there is a fear [among British Jews] of being overtaken, and I think it's the numbers, because we're such a small number and Muslims are a relatively large number… and then there is of course the question of Israel.'

Our Muslim participants reported examples of attitudes revealed towards them that were similar to those described by Michael. For instance, Sayyid, an activist of interfaith dialogue, told Fiaz how once he and his Jewish counterpart tried to organise an event that was supposed to bring together Jewish and Muslim schoolchildren. The event fell through because the Jewish parents felt that it would not be safe enough for their children to be in contact with a Muslim group.

This example, as well as the quote with which we started the section highlight how wider societal discourses about Islam appear to affect the way some British Jewish people relate to British Muslims. It is clear that some of their hesitation stems from the rhetoric of the 'war on terror' that is common in the mainstream mass media and public discourse, and is not at all limited to the Jewish constituency.[7] At the same time, it appears that in addition to the general context of mainstream British/European discourse about Islam, the way British Jews relate to their Muslim neighbours is mediated by their own historical memories and personal experiences of anti-Semitism.

Many of our Jewish interviewees, similarly to Michael, were very critical of what they saw as anti-Muslim prejudices in their congregations, but they also put them in the broader context of the history of anti-Semitism in general, and of their

communities' experiences. For instance, when Yulia asked Baruch, an Orthodox Jewish man, who lives in a neighbourhood which is home to a sizeable Jewish congregation, what, in his opinion, the attitudes of British Muslims towards his community were, he said that a lot of problems stemmed from the fact that Muslims, as well as the general population, tended to associate all Jews with Israel without knowing enough about Jewish history. He noted that, for instance, young people in general and young Muslims in particular did not realise the role that the pogroms in Russia had played in providing the context for Zionism becoming more popular among European Jews. Had British Muslims known about the history of anti-Semitism, their attitude towards Zionism and Israel might have been more positive, he argued.

When asked about the way Muslims were perceived in his congregation, he said that though most of his neighbours had never experienced any open conflicts with them, they were constantly concerned about the possibility of such a confrontation. 'You sometimes can just see it, how young *haredi*[8] men walk down the street, they see an Asian looking man, assume that he is Muslim and simply turn white and start shaking with fear. It is very sad indeed, but one has to understand that being *haredi* means being visibly Jewish, which means that these boys must have experienced anti-Semitic abuse before even if it had nothing to do with the Muslims.'

This quote raises important questions about the way in which in the case of British Muslims and *haredi* Jews race and religion co-constitute and co-produce each other in ways that lead to stereotyping and discrimination, which could be explored at length in a separate paper. The experiences of the secular, Reform and modern Orthodox Jewish people may be different, however, their answers to our questions about Jewish-Muslims relations also contain accounts of historical and recent discrimination in the UK, which again go beyond the Muslim context.

As Miriam's quote suggests, she strongly identifies herself (and, probably, by implication her community) as British and constructs Muslims as quintessentially non-British. However, her words may also be hiding a story of assimilation that some of our Jewish respondents described as quite problematic.

Speaking about the experiences of their co-religionists in the UK in comparison with those of British Muslims, all Jewish respondents observed that British Jews were a very well assimilated community who (possibly with the exception of *haredi* Jews) did not stand out the way British Muslims did. Their

responses thus construct the same juxtaposition between Jews and Muslims that Miriam attempted, however, several of them also noted that the reason why British Jews were so successful in assimilating was because they were forced to do so by the mainstream society in the past. For instance, Edith stressed that she felt envious of British Muslims, because, she argued, they were represented in the UK in larger numbers, and (in her perception) they were not under the same pressure to assimilate. Another Jewish respondent, Simon, a man in his early seventies, observed that today British Jews were well respected in the country, because they had succeeded in secular education, but to do so they had 'to change their ways a lot'.

Indeed, as Keith Kahn-Harris and Ben Gidley point out, '[t]he British Jewish community emerged during a time of monoculturalism, in which it was difficult for minorities publically to articulate their concern'.[9] Interestingly, similar observations were made by some of our Muslim respondents too, who in their interviews referred not only to the history of Jewish assimilation in the UK, but also to the wider history of anti-Jewish prejudice. As Omar, a Muslim man in his thirties, put it when we asked him to compare the position of the two communities in Britain, 'People are ok with the Jewish community now because it had to pay the price for it. It [their acceptance] didn't happen overnight, it took hundreds of years and it took millions of people dying in the Holocaust to get to where they are – so yes, the Muslim community might look and say "they're normalised and no one seems to have a problem with them", but it came at a price'.

Omar's words echo the intervention made by anthropologist Jonathan Boyarin in relation to 'the interrelated problematics of movements such as Third World liberationism, feminism, and the struggle to reinvent Jewishness'.[10] In exploring this problematics Boyarin suggests that we should pay attention to the postcolonial condition of the Jewish people. Boyarin warns against conflating the condition of the Jewish people with the politics of the Jewish State, and argues that though Israel is not normally described as a postcolonial state - quite the opposite, it is often seen as a First World power on a mission to extend its territory - we should not make an assumption that 'Jews can't be in a postcolonial situation'.[11] Instead, he advocates an approach that calls attention not only to the spatial, but also to the temporal dimension of anti-imperial struggle, and argues that in deciding whether the Jewish people could be seen as a subaltern group, one should consider not only their contemporary condition, but also their history.[12]

We suggest in this respect that in reflecting on the position of their community in the UK in relation to that of British Muslims, many of our Jewish respondents revealed a degree of subaltern self-perception stemming from their historical memories of persecution. In addition, some of them put the topic of Jewish-Muslim relations in the context not only of the history of anti-Semitism, but also of their own experiences in the UK. For instance, David, a religiously-observant Jewish man in his fifties, shared the view that we had heard from Omar. Like most of our Jewish respondents, he suggested that what the Muslim communities, which represent mostly relatively recent immigrants, were going through in the UK now, was what Jewish people had experienced in the past, and that the reason why the levels of overt anti-Semitism in the UK, in his view, were comparatively lower than those of anti-Muslim prejudice, was because Jews had already been forced to assimilate. 'If you're getting a lot of hassle, if you can't live in a society because of the way you look, sometimes that can force people to abandon things quicker', he said. Reflecting on his own experiences, he told us how when he was an adolescent growing up in the suburbs, he would regularly receive verbal anti-Semitic abuse.

Michael, whom we quoted above, drew a direct link between his concern about anti-Semitism in the UK and the question of Jewish-Muslim relations. When we asked him what, in his opinion, the main issues in these relations were, he stated that, all the problems between local Jews and Muslims were stemming from the conflict in the Middle East, however, though he was critical of Israel, it was hard for him to stop supporting it because of the possibility of anti-Semitic persecution in the UK:

> I have to say I can see both sides of this because I've dealt with a lot of Muslims … and the prejudice begins and starts really with Israel and Palestine, that's where the prejudice is, it's nothing to do with [what we do] on a day-to-day basis – in other words we can get on well… I am not the greatest Zionist in the world… I'm not a person that says Israel is wonderful and it's faultless. But I've got to survive, you see, so if it became bad here I'd go there and that's my survival kit.

This quote implies that the attachment that Michael feels to the State of Israel, a country whose politics he also considers to be a major stumbling block in the development of Jewish-Muslim relations, stems from his concern about the security

of the Jewish people in the UK. Attitudes towards Israel, current among contemporary British Jewish communities, are extremely diverse,[13] and it is not at all our suggestion that all British Jews see Israel as key to their survival. However, Michael's words are indicative of a sense of insecurity that some British Jewish people have that might explain an attachment to Israel. When we asked Michael if he had personally experienced anti-Semitism, he did not reference any traumatic encounters with Muslims, however, he recounted how once, back in the 1970s, when he was a student at a prestigious UK university, he shared it with a fellow student doing a law degree that he was Jewish. On hearing this, the student, who, according to Michael, was of solid upper middle class background, expressed his surprise at the way Michael looked - 'I thought Jewish people had horns', he said.

As we later discovered in an interview with Sayyid, this time-old anti-Semitic discourse was still circulating in the UK today. After Sayyid told Fiaz about the failed interfaith sports event, he added that while British Jews appeared to have unsettling concerns about British Muslims, the latter were susceptible to negative stereotyping too. 'Once I visited a Jewish museum,' Sayyid said, 'and a lady who worked there told me that recently they had a group of Muslim kids on a school trip. One of the kids, a nine or ten year old girl asked her to kneel down, because she wanted to see her horns. "To see what?!" the lady said. "Your horns. My parents say that Jews have horns".

This archaic anti-Jewish imagery, which associates Jews with Satan's consorts, goes back to the Middle Ages, when emerging evangelizing Christianity started a relentless anti-Jewish campaign in an attempt to differentiate 'true Israel' (Christianity) from ancient Israel and its Torah.[14] As Michael's and Sayyid's quotes show, this imagery (whether its proponents believed in its literal meaning or not) has stayed in circulation until the turn of the twenty-first century creating a circuit of stereotyping practices, which in these cases were exhibited by an upper middle class man of secular or Christian background and the Muslim parents of a school girl. As both examples suggest, this circuit is proving to be doubly damaging for British Jewish-Muslim relations because it both spreads anti-Jewish attitudes among local Muslims and contributes to the overall sense of insecurity among British Jewish communities, which then, combined with the general negative stereotyping of Muslims propagated by the mass media, interpellates their perceptions of their

Muslim neighbours. As we will argue in the following section, what adds yet another dimension to this circuit is British Muslims' own experiences of discrimination.

Images of difference

'You want to know why I came to this Forum? I wanted to meet Jewish people and learn from them how to become more successful. We, Muslims, are so much behind British Jews, and they are so much ahead. We need to learn from them and catch up.'

This is how Raza, a Muslim student in his early twenties explained to Yulia why he had decided to start attending a forum which brought together young people from local Muslim and Jewish communities. Like Miriam's quote with which we started the previous section, Raza's words hardly do justice to the wide-ranging approaches that his community has towards Jewish-Muslim dialogue. However, as we saw in a number of other interviews, the trope of Jewish people being 'successful' and 'ahead', which in other contexts would have read as an anti-Semitic stereotype, was used by our Muslim respondents to describe their own condition of discrimination.

As we already mentioned in the previous section, many of our Muslim interviewees noted that while Jewish people might be in a stronger position in the UK now and were subjected to less prejudice than Muslims, that was only because they had already had to face a lot of discrimination in the past, which had led to their assimilation. In commenting on the contemporary and historical experiences of the two groups, a significant number of our Muslim respondents suggested that the position of European Muslims now was comparable to that of European Jews in the first half of the twentieth century. For instance, this is how Ibrahim, a man in his thirties, put it, when we asked him to comment on the position of Jews and Muslims in Europe:

> They [Jewish people] have been through everything that we're starting to go through now, they've been through that whole cycle… Because this is how it started, if you look at the Jewish history in Europe, it started off with little things in the media and ended up with what happened, Hitler and the Second World War, right? So there is this mild sort of, simmering, concern [among British Muslims]… Are we the next Jewish community in World War time?

> And is that the future? And do we all just have to be…what are the answers? We're sort of looking for the answers I suppose… I don't know whether you'll hear that a lot, but it's there… Because it's horrific what happened [in the history of the Jewish people], and how it started with little things like this.

Some of our Muslim respondents put forward to us the idea that their co-religionists should know Jewish history better to understand their own position in Europe. As Tarik, a coordinator of an interfaith forum, put it,

> Unfortunately, there are a lot of Muslims in the UK who don't know about the history of the Jews in Europe, otherwise, they would see the similarities in their experiences. A lot of Muslims in Britain today do not know about the history of European Jews, so sometimes my brothers make statements [about the Jews] which are very hurtful, because they don't know the history – because if you know the history of Jews in Europe, then there are experiences which can repeat themselves, you know?

For Tarik, tragic events in Jewish history have thus become an important reference point both in understanding the history of European Muslims and in seeking ways to develop Muslim-Jewish dialogue. At the same time, many Muslim respondents stated that at the moment their community was receiving less legal support and facing more prejudice than their Jewish counterparts. For instance, this is how Ibrahim continued to answer our question about the position of Jews and Muslims in Europe:

> Right now I think various things affect both communities, but the Jewish community is very well protected through laws, and through their lobbying, and through the support that they have through the government, and through MPs and so forth, whereas the Muslim community doesn't have that … You can say what you want about Muslims and you can do what you want to Muslims, and no one really is there to fight your corner, that's how I see it. You know, I have been in a [job] interview, and because of the way I was dressed they actually said to me at the end of the interview that 'you're

> clearly from a particular faith and that's difficult for us'. Now, if you said that to a Jewish person … that organisation would be in serious trouble, but you can do it to a Muslim person. So I think the adversity affects both communities, but the quality of the advocacy and support is differential, and it doesn't exist for the Muslim community as it does for the Jewish community...

Issues that Ibrahim raised in this interview have become subject of a dynamic academic discussion among scholars of Judaism and Islam who have explored the relationship between anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in Europe. Matti Bunzl has argued that while overt political anti-Semitism still exist in contemporary Europe, it is embraced mainly by the extreme right, which occupies only a marginal position on the political horizon of the continent. When it comes to Muslims, Bunzl argues, Islamophobic political and mass media agendas appear to be much more mainstream.[15] A vivid example of this problematics was discussed in academic and media sources in the aftermath of the *Charlie Hebdo* events of January 2015. For instance, Didier Fassin has highlighted how in France freedom of speech laws put Muslims at a disadvantage, and how *Charlie Hebdo* itself had put limits to its application of free speech when they fired one of its cartoonists for writing an anti-Semitic piece, but ignored contributions that were clearly Islamophobic.[16] Writing specifically about the effect that anti-Muslim discrimination in France have had on French Jewish-Muslim relations, Silverstein has pointed out that young European Muslims tend to present their situation as consonant with other oppressed and racialized groups, including the Palestinians in the West Bank. This, combined with the situation, where Islamophobic statements are tolerated more under the freedom of speech laws than anti-Semitic remarks, leads young Muslims to viewing Jews as 'fully integrated European insiders and indeed iconic of all which is intolerable in their own lives,' Silverstein argues.[17]

What has become a major contributing factor of tensions in Jewish-Muslim relations in France was the way local Jewish and Muslim communities coming from North Africa were differentially treated by the state.[18] British Jews and British Muslims do not share the same region of origin, as most British Jews are the descendants of immigrants from continental Europe, while the majority of British Muslims are connected to South Asia,[19] however, like in France, the context of their

past histories plays an important role in the formation of their mutual perceptions. As we noted in the previous section, Baruch invoked the history of pogroms to explain why he was disappointed with the position that many British Muslims had on Israel. Some of our Muslim respondents put their views of Jewish-Muslim dialogue in the context of their ancestors' histories too. For instance, when we asked Fatimah, who had stated that the conflict in the Middle East was the main issue in Jewish-Muslim relations, what Palestine meant to her, she replied, that the history of the Palestinians reminded her of the history of South Asian Muslims – the community she had come from – under British rule.

In addition, it appears that in contemporary Britain, like in France, Jews and Muslims are often juxtaposed by the political right. For instance, Meer and Noorani in their discussion of anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in the UK point out a *Daily Telegraph* article which advised British Muslims to follow the example of British Jews who, the author of the article argued, managed to integrate in British society better because all branches of Judaism accepted civil law.[20] It would not be at all surprising if such generalisations that essentialise both traditions, but construe Judaism as more compatible with life in the UK than Islam, were detrimental to Jewish-Muslim relations.

What appears to be equally problematic for the development of Jewish-Muslim dialogue, is the political right portraying Jewish people as potential 'allies' of European Christians in the fight against the 'Islamisation' of Europe,[21] and the mass media constructing Muslims as the 'natural' enemies of the Jews and leveling blanket accusations of anti-Semitism at the entire Muslim community. As Silverstein has argued, European mass media often portrays Muslims as the main victimisers of European Jews, and presents the attacks on Jewish persons and property where perpetrators were Muslim as further evidence of Muslim immigrants' susceptibility to extremist ideologies and failure to integrate.[22] We saw examples of the negative effect that this rhetoric can have on Jewish-Muslim dialogue in our ethnography. One of our respondents, Daniel, who was involved in an initiative that brings together young Jews and Muslims, told Yulia that it was often hard for him to recruit Muslim participants. When he tried to explore what was preventing them from taking part in these events, he was told that some young Muslims felt that it would not be legally safe for them to engage in these activities. They were worried that they might be

asked about their position on Israel, and if they made any negative comments, they would be arrested, they told Daniel.

Making negative remarks about Israel does not constitute criminal offence in the UK, however, we suggest that the skepticism of these young people should not be dismissed as sheer delusion. The episode described by Daniel is starkly reminiscent of the episode described by Sayyid, when a group of Jewish parents refused to let their children take part in an interfaith event that was going to include Muslims. In both cases the response was based on what on the face of it looks like groundless suspicion – suspicion that any interaction with Muslims was dangerous for the Jews, and that Jews were so well protected by the legal system that making any negative comments about the Jewish State could lead to an arrest, particularly if these comments were made by a Muslim person whom society already expected to become a perpetrator of anti-Jewish violence. In both cases the suspicion was hardly based on evidence, however, it is important to consider it as a symptom of a more general feeling of insecurity experienced in both communities, the topic which we will address in the following section.

Discussion

Baruch's words about some of his co-religionists' reaction to 'Asian-looking men' were brought back home to us later that same day when Yulia interviewed a Muslim respondent who lived in the neighbouring area. Amir, a young man of Pakistani descent, told her that he admired his local Jewish community and felt very lucky to live close to what he described as a Jewish neighbourhood. When Yulia asked Amir if he had ever faced discrimination or prejudice, he recounted the following episode:

> Just a few days ago I was jogging in the park close to where I live. I had my headphones on and was just jogging. There was a man walking down the street who saw me and started walking in the opposite direction. That was unpleasant, and this was not an isolated incident.

The brief episodes described by Baruch and Amir illuminate some of the key themes in the overall problematics of Jewish-Muslim relations in the UK and

probably in the diaspora more widely. As was discussed in the second section of the chapter, some members of the Jewish communities have strong security concerns which hark back to the long and tragic history of anti-Jewish violence, and which in the political climate of contemporary Europe are more often than not associated with Muslims. The latter, in their turn, are struggling to shed the image of foreign, racialised others, who are seen as the victimisers of Jews and a constant security threat. In the case of Amir, anti-Muslim/racist discrimination does not appear to have affected his attitude towards British Jews. However, in other cases, such as those described by Silverstein, Mandel and Katz,[23] it can lead to Muslims seeing their Jewish compatriots as 'luckier' and more powerful citizens.

We have shown throughout the paper that though the role that the conflict in the Middle East plays in shaping Jewish-Muslim relations is difficult to ignore, the way the minutiae of these relations develop is determined by the local experiences of British Jews and Muslims, as well as, to a degree, by their collective historical memories. As we argued above, the way the Israel-Palestine conflict itself is understood in both groups is to a large extent mediated by these local experiences. It appears that for many British Jews and British Muslims, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia constitute a significant factor that determines their place in the vexed picture of Jewish-Muslim relations in the UK, and we argue that the social hesitation and fear that some British Jews and British Muslims have against each other is a symptom of wider problems in the way 'minority' groups are perceived and treated in the UK.

As we showed in the previous sections, both personal and historical experiences of discrimination were frequently referred to in our respondents' accounts of their view of Jewish-Muslim relations and of their perception of the 'other' group. In the case of the Jewish communities, the prior existing sense of insecurity, combined with exposure to public and mass media discourses that construct Muslims as a security threat in general, and a threat for Jewish persons and organisations in particular, forces some members of the Jewish constituency to view Muslims with suspicion. Similarly, the postcolonial experiences of Muslims in Europe, and, particularly, after the events of 9/11 and 7/7, have conditioned some of them to expect discrimination and unlawful prosecution, be doubtful about the future of Muslims in Europe, and ask whether Europe is not on the brink of another, this time, anti-Muslim, Holocaust. When it comes specifically to their relations with their Jewish

counterparts, this overall feeling of insecurity sometimes intersects both with time-old anti-Jewish stereotypes and conspiracy theories, and with a reaction to public discourses that 'other' both communities, but position Jews and Muslims differently, placing the latter at the bottom of British 'hierarchy of minorities'.

We argue that these experiences combined with exposure to wider anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim discourses produce mistrust that, to build upon John Jackson's insight, 'translate fear into social action',[24] such as, for instance, when Jewish parents prevent their children from participating in an inter-faith event out of fear that they will become victims of a terrorist attack, or when young Muslims refuse to engage in dialogue with their Jewish counterparts out of fear that they will be accused of making anti-Israeli statements and arrested. The example of Jewish-Muslim relations in the UK could be usefully referred to in exploring Jewish-Muslim relations in the diaspora worldwide, as, we expect the local conditions to be an important factor of these relations in many parts of the world. To go beyond the context of Jewish-Muslim relations, our case study highlights how the expectations and social fears that different communities have about the way they will be treated by others are an important indicator of the overall state of inter-communal relations in the country and the level of socio-political comfort that they experience not just in relation to each other, but also in relation to the mainstream society.

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[1] Illuminating analysis of Jewish-Muslim relations in the Middle East and North Africa is offered in, for instance, Bernard Lewis, *The Jews of Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 1984), Ron Nettler and Suha Taji-Farouki, *Muslim-Jewish Encounters: Intellectual Traditions and Modern Politics* (Amsterdam: OPA, 1998), Tudor Parfitt, ed., *Israel and Ishmael. Studies in Muslim-Jewish Relations* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2000), Norman Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2003), Aomar Boum, *Memories of Absence: How Muslims Remember Jews in Morocco* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013). Muslim attitudes towards Jews and Israel in different parts of the world were explored in Moshe Ma'oz, ed., *Muslim Attitudes to Jews and Israel: The Ambivalences of Rejection, Antagonism, Tolerance and Cooperation* (Brighton, Portland, Toronto: Sussex Academic Press, 2010). Abdelwahhab Meddeb and Benjamin Stora co-edited the formidable *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations, From the Origins to the Present Day* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

[2] For instance, anthropologist Paul Silverstein has argued in his ethnographic research of Jewish-Muslim relations, that in France and North Africa, Muslim populations have demonstrated an ability both to reject and empathise with their Jewish compatriots, and that in France the negativity that some local Muslims exhibit towards the Jews can be seen as a response to the state oppression directed at North African immigrants and their children (Paul Silverstein, "The Fantasy and Violence of Religious Imagination: Islamophobia and Anti-Semitism in France and North Africa," in *Islamophobia/Islamophilia: Beyond the Politics of Enemy and Friend*, ed. Andrew Shryock (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 141-171). The historian Maud Mandel's recent monograph convincingly argues that daily interactions between French Jews and French Muslims are diverse and go far beyond the polarization over the Israel-Palestine issue. Mandel also stresses the importance of paying attention to 'the way global dynamics,

both in the Middle East and in French North Africa, came together with national and even local factors to shape Muslim-Jewish relations in postcolonial France' (Maud Mandel, *Muslims and Jews in France: History of a Conflict* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014, 3). Similarly, Ethan Katz concludes in his monograph exploring the histories of Jews and Muslims from North Africa in France that 'interactions between Jews and Muslims in France were not a binary but a decidedly triangular affair', as the state played a key role in defining these interactions from their very inception, and because Jews and Muslims themselves understood and expressed these attitudes and relations through the prism of their relationship to the French (Ethan Katz, *The Burdens of Brotherhood: Jews and Muslims from North Africa to France*, Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 2015, 24-25).

[3] Gunther Jikeli, "Antisemitism Among Young Muslims in London," *International Study Group Education and Research on Antisemitism. Colloquium 1. Aspects of Antisemitism in the UK.* 5 December 2009. London.

[4] For the purposes of protecting our respondents' anonymity their names have been changed.

[5] Matti Bunzl, *Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia: Hatreds Old and New in Europe* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2007); Keith Kahn-Harris and Benjamin Gidley, *Turbulent Times: The British Jewish Community Today* (Continuum), 140; Brian Klug "Interrogating 'new Anti-Semitism," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36. 3 (2013), 468–82.

[6] Bunzl, "Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia: Hatreds Old and New", 25.

[7] See, for instance, Poole 2007, Taras 2013, Fassin 2015.

[8] Haredi in Hebrew means God-fearing, and sometimes described as ultra-Orthodox, those this term is not recognized by this community.

[9] Kahn-Harris and Gidley, *Turbulent Times*, 165-166.

[10] Jonathan Boyarin, *Storm from Paradise: The Politics of Jewish Memory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 105.

[11] Ibid., 83.

[12] Ibid., 82-83.

[13] For a detailed discussion see Keith Kahn-Harris, *Uncivil War: The Israel Conflict in the Jewish Community* (London: David/Paul) and Ilan Zvi Baron, *Obligation in Exile: the Jewish Diaspora, Israel and Critique* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

[14] Moshe, Lazar, "The lamb and the scapegoat: the dehumanization of the Jews in medieval propaganda machinery," in *Anti-Semitism in Times of Crisis*, ed., Sander Gilman and Steven Katz (New York and London: New York University Press, 1991), 40.

[15] Bunzl, "Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia".

[16] Didier Fassin, "In the name of the Republic: Untimely meditations on the aftermath of the *Charlie Hebdo* attack," *Anthropology Today*, 31.2 (2015), 4-5.

[17] Paul Silverstein, "Comment on Bunzl", in Matti Bunzl, *Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia*, 64-65.

[18] Silverstein, "The Fantasy and Violence of Religious Imagination"; Mandel, *Muslims and Jews in France*; Katz, The *Burdens of Brotherhood*.

[19] British Jews and British Muslims account for two sizeable, though numerically different, constituencies, with members identifying themselves as Jewish in the 2011 England and Wales Census

accounting for 263,346 people and those identifying as Muslim for 2,706,066 people. In the UK, both Jews and Muslims present highly diverse communities. First Jewish people arrived in England with the Normans in 1066 and then were expelled in 1290 under King Edward I. Jews started living openly in Britain again in the seventeenth century and now their congregations include members of both Sephardi and Ashkenazi descent, whose ancestors came to Britain mainly from different places in Western and Eastern Europe (with a small minority coming from Asia and Africa). In terms of religious observance, the community comprises people who describe themselves as secular, as practitioners of different forms of Judaism, and as practitioners of religions other than Judaism. The roots of the majority of British Muslims are in the post-war commonwealth migration, with the largest group (about 40%) identifying as Muslims of Pakistani descent, and other groups comprising Muslims from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, North Africa, the Middle East, Somalia and Eastern Europe. The religious denominations of British Muslims include Sunni, Shia and Ahmadiyya branches.

[20] Meer and Noorani, "A Sociological Comparison of anti- Semitism and anti- Muslim Sentiment in Britain," 210.

[21] For instance, see the example of the Flemish Interest party discussed in Bunzl, "Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia".

[22] Paul Silverstein, "Immigrant Racialization and the New Savage Slot: Race, Migration and Immigration in the New Europe," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34 (2005), 367.

[23] Silverstein, "The fantasy and violence of religious imagination"; Mandel, *Muslims and Jews in France*; Katz, The *Burdens of Brotherhood*.

[24] John Jackson, *Racial Paranoia, The Unintended Consequences of Political Correctness* (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2008), 16.